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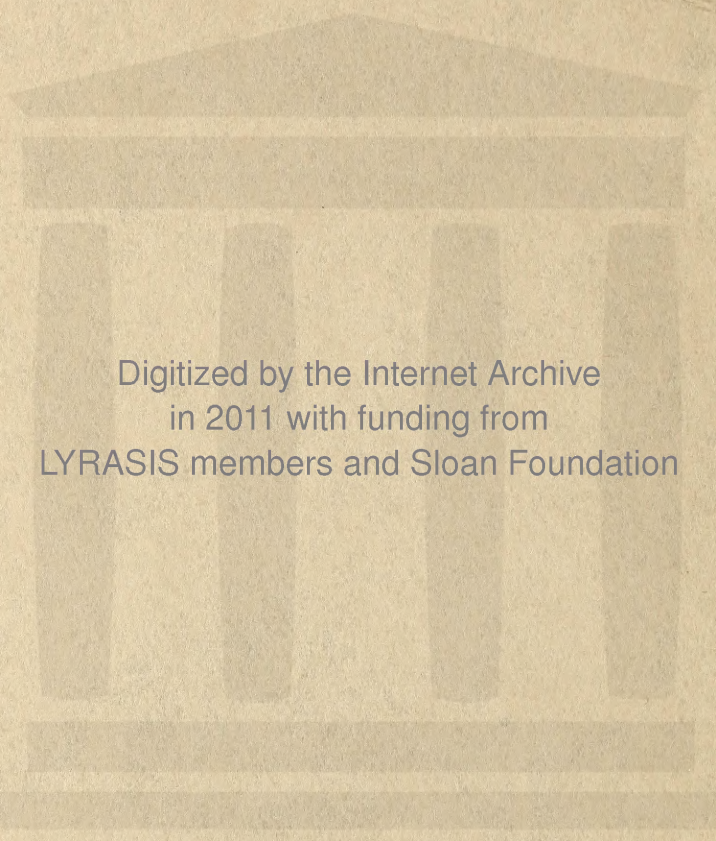
AN EX-SLAVEHOLDERS VIEW OF THE NEGRO QUESTION
IN THE SOUTH

By





Robert Bingham

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of the Negro Question
in the South    

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BY

ROBERT BINGHAM



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AN EX-SLAVEHOLDERS VIEW OF THE
NEGRO QUESTION IN
THE SOUTH.

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State Library.*

By COLONEL ROBERT BINGHAM,
Superintendent of The Bingham School,
Asheville, N. C.

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An Ex-Slave Holder's View of the Negro Question in the South.

Heretofore the Race Question in the United States has been local, sectional and more or less sentimental. But now it is one of the most important National questions before us; and the necessity of dealing not only with the Black man and with the remnant of the Red man in continental America, but with the Hawaiian, the Japanese, the Chinaman and the Philippino in our new Pacific Islands and with the mixed races in our new West Indian Islands, makes it a highly important question.

That "History is philosophy teaching by example" is a saying as old as Cicero. Let us look at the history of our contact with other races dispassionately and take lessons calmly for our future from what has occurred in our past.

I suppose that Gail Hamilton's contention will be admitted that "If God made the white man white, the yellow man yellow, and the black man black, He intended for the white man to remain white, the yellow man yellow and the black man black." He prevents the loss of species in the lower animals by the infecundity of hybrids. He seems to have protected the integrity of race types among men by Race Antagonism. At any rate race antagonism is a patent and a potent factor which must be reckoned with in any philosophical study of history; and the effect of race antagonism, visible everywhere and always whenever different races come into contact, is no where more visible than in the contact of our race with other races.

What our race-history was in prehistoric times we can only guess at; but History teaches that the Roman, who subjugated and absorbed so many other races, failed in all his attempts on the Teuton, and Augustus on his death bed said with tears to Varus, who had been sent to subjugate Germany, "O Varus, my legions, my legions, where are my legions?" And History teaches very clearly that the race characteristics of the Angles and Saxons are more distinct and more permanent than those of any other of Teutonic tribes who overwhelmed the Roman Empire. The other Teutonic invaders of Southern and Western Europe lost their language and much of their race identity and were themselves absorbed, or were at least greatly modified, by their subjects. They failed to change the names even of the countries which they overran. Græcia remains Greece, Italia is Italy, Hispania is Spain; and though the Franks changed the name of Gallia to France, they lost their language and race identity so completely and were so thoroughly Latinized that the French are the head of the Latin races to-day. And the Latinized Franks who went to England with William the Norman lost their language and identity a second time at the hands of the English. But the Angles and Saxons who landed with Hengist and Horsa in 449 changed Britain to Angle-Land, and it has been England ever since. They touched the Celt, and in a hundred years there were no Celts except in the mountains of Wales and in the mountains of Scotland. The Norman touched them, and the Norman was absorbed and his identity disap-

peared. They came in contact with the Red man in America; and, as the Celt vanished away at the touch of the barbarian Angles and Saxons, so the Red man vanished away at the touch of their descendants, the Christianized Anglo-Americans. This same man touched the Frenchman from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Frenchman's power in that vast region is with last year's snow, and what was once French America is now the heart of Anglo-American civilization and power. And during our Civil War the Frenchman undertook to establish himself on this Continent again; but just after the end of our war the Frenchman was ordered out of Mexico by the United States Government, and "stood not on the order of his going"—and the would-be Emperor Maximilian, no longer supported by French bayonets, was shot as a usurper in June 1867. The Yellow man touched the Anglo-American and has been excluded, more by the unwritten law of race hostility and race antagonism than by any formal acts of Congress. And the Anglo-American has just touched the Spaniard and the Spaniard has vanished from this Hemisphere.

So as a matter of simple fact, our contact with the Black man in the South is the only instance in the history of our race where any population of Anglo-Saxon blood has dealt successfully with another race on the same soil in about equal numbers. The English have dealt successfully with the Negro in the English West Indies. But the numbers involved are comparatively small and the disparity between whites and blacks is much greater than in the South. The English in Egypt and in India are the official class, the soil remaining in the hands of the subject races. In many of the English Colonies the Aborigines have met the fate of the Red man in North America, while in South Africa the English and the Dutch are in deadly conflict for the mastery.

Those who look at the matter only in a sentimental way may say that, although the negro in the South survived, he survived as a slave and that existence in slavery is scarcely existence at all. But early in the Century there was a deep and strong movement among the slave owners against holding slaves; and but for the agitation inaugurated by the abolitionists, some scheme for the gradual emancipation of the negro would in all probability have been worked out, and this might have settled the negro question peaceably. My father thought of going to Ohio in the '20s to be relieved of the burden and responsibility of slaves; but he found the condition of the African in the North West worse than in slavery. Everybody in the South knew that the condition of the ante-bellum free negro among us was worse than that of the slave, though the free negro had the right of suffrage in North Carolina till 1835. My father offered his nurse her freedom and support for a term of years in Liberia and she declined the offer. Many of the slaveholders in the South felt as my father did, and a bill for the gradual emancipation of the slaves failed to pass the Legislature of Virginia in the early '30s by only ONE VOTE.

It is safe to say that we of the South dealt more successfully with the negro up to '65, when he was taken from our hands, than our race has ever dealt with any other race on the same soil since the dawn of history. He came into our

hands from over seas, by the action of the people of New England chiefly, not by our own, as we did not own a single ship. He was a savage of a low type, and in some cases at least he was a cannibal. One of the most respectable and trustworthy negroes I know, a man of about 65, told me that his grandmother, who came direct from Africa, had told him as a boy that she had seen her people engaged in a cannibal feast before she was put on a ship and taken away from home.

Under our treatment this savage was so developed in the arts of civilization in a little more than a century that he was deemed worthy by the people of the North to share with them in the citizenship of the Great Republic; and this boon, which was given by law to every adult negro male in the South, is still denied to illiterates of our own race in New England; and in this year of grace 1900 it has been denied to illiterate Brown men and Yellow men in the new Territory of Hawaii by act of a Republican Congress, approved by a Republican President.

As the negro advanced so rapidly under our tutelage, it may be well for those whose ancestors united with ours in exterminating the Celt in England and the Red man in America, who have excluded the Yellow man, who have not succeeded with the Black man since they took charge of him in '65 as well as we had done before '65, and on whose success with the Brown man judgment must be suspended, it may be well for the people of the North to take our diagnosis of the case of the negro into careful consideration.

And it may be well for the people of the North to realize that in the nature of things we are better qualified to make a correct diagnosis of the negro's case and to treat it intelligently than they are. In the whole North only one-sixtieth ($\frac{1}{60}$) of the people are of African blood; and there are many people in the North who never saw a negro in their lives.

But in the South as a whole, one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of the people are of African blood; in several of the former slave states three-fifths ($\frac{3}{5}$) of the people are of African blood; and there are localities in all the former slave states where nine-tenths ($\frac{9}{10}$) of the people are of African blood, and it can hardly be denied that those who have dealt with only a very weak solution of a thing and who in many cases have never dealt with it at all, are less competent to judge it intelligently than those who have dealt with a saturated solution of it, so to speak, all their lives.

There is one proposition to which every intelligent man in the South, whether of Northern or Southern birth, will give hearty assent; and many Northern people who have never been in the South are being brought to the same conclusion by the logic of events. This proposition is that a great mistake was made against the negro by arming him with the ballot while he was still an intellectual, moral and political infant. We are Teutons, God's kings of men. But every step towards the highest freedom was won in the best blood of our race. We freed ourselves from feudal vassalage to the Plantagenets and established the principles of the *Magna Charta* in blood. We freed ourselves from ecclesiastical vassalage to a foreign potentate under the Tudors and established the Church of

England instead of the Church of Rome in blood. We freed ourselves from domestic ecclesiastical vassalage under the Stuarts and established the principles of the *Bill of Rights* in blood. We freed ourselves from the vassalage of taxation without representation under the house of Brunswick and established the principles of the *Declaration of Independence* in blood. We obtained manhood suffrage at great cost in moil and toil and blood and after many centuries of preparation for it.

Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy, said "I am certain that the negroes will be free, and I am" "equally certain that they can never live on the same" "soil on terms of political equality with the whites."

Abraham Lincoln, the great apostle of Republicanism, in a speech delivered in Charleston, Illinois, on the 18th of September, 1858, said as follows :

"I will say that I am not nor ever have been in favor" "of bringing about in any way the social and political" "equality of the white and black races; that I am not nor" "ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of" "negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office nor to in-" "termarry with white people; and I will say in addition" "to this that there is a physical difference between the" "white and black races which will forever forbid the two" "races living together on terms of social and political" "equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while" "they do remain together, there must be the position of" "superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man," "am in favor of having the superior position assigned to" "the white race."

And we of the South believe that some plan of gradual enfranchisement on the educational basis which is demanded of white men in Massachusetts, or on the combined educational and property basis which is demanded of white men in Rhode Island, would have been adopted if President Lincoln had been spared. And nothing could have stimulated the illiterate negro and the illiterate white man as much as making the right of suffrage a prize to be won by an educational qualification.

But this great opportunity was thrown away; and in the face of our own race's having attained manhood suffrage only after centuries of preparation for it and at great cost in moil and toil and blood, in face of the condemnation of such a course by our greatest political leaders, including Abraham Lincoln himself, in the face of the fact that manhood suffrage is still denied to illiterates of our own race in New England, in the face of all these facts this great boon was given to the negro without moil or toil on his part, without his having shed a drop of his own blood organized to attain it, and so, entirely without preparation for it. And it was done, not for the benefit of the negro, but as a move on the chess-board of party politics, and the party making the move has been checkmated in ten states ever since. And as suffrage has wrought evil and only evil to the negro ever since, and that continually, we believe that perhaps the best thing is to accompany it with the same sort of educational qualification which accompanies its enjoyment by our race in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and which is demanded of brown men and of yellow men in our new

territory of Hawaii. In this way, if in any way, the evils which threaten the negro may be averted.

The people of the United States seem to be only beginning to realize that the War between the States was more a *Race War* than anything else, not of Saxon against Saxon, but of the free laborer of the North against the slave laborer of the South, who, by a strange set of conditions, not of the white man's own choosing, was protected by six million men of Anglo Saxon blood. The contest began, not for the purpose of freeing the negro, but for the purpose of *excluding slave labor from the Territories*, lest competition against the white laborer in localities up to that time not occupied at all should be inaugurated. It is well known that the negro is not tolerated by the farm laborer, mechanic, miner, railroad employee, or by any other handi-craftsman in any Northern or Western state as he is tolerated as yet every where in the South to-day; and it was largely the handi-craftsmen of the great North West who settled the question at the point of the bayonet against slave labor, though protected by the men of the Anglo-Saxon blood in the South. No laborer of any race, and least of all no negro laborer, has ever been met on the border of a Southern state, as the negro was met on the border of Illinois recently, with bullet and bayonet; nor has the Governor of any Southern state threatened peaceable laborers with Gatling guns as Governor Tanner, of President Lincoln's own state and a member of President Lincoln's own political party, threatened peaceable negro miners going from Alabama to seek work in Illinois, nor to this day has a finger been raised to bring these murderers of negro miners to justice. And this race antagonism, which exists everywhere and among all races, and no where perhaps more strongly than among the white laborers of the North West against the negro, must be met successfully by the negro if he is to survive, and every thing which tends to stimulate race antagonism must be avoided.

But not only must race antagonism, existing everywhere, be met by the negro, but as a free man he has become the *competitor* of the white laborer in many fields of activity not occupied by him on his own account as a slave. He has become a carpenter, blacksmith, brick mason, shoe-makers, etc., on his own account; he has become a contractor and builder, a merchant, a livery stable keeper, a restaurant keeper, a mail carrier and a mail contractor; he has in some cases become a banker, a lawyer, a doctor; and in all these occupations and in others not named, he underbids the white man. This does not tend to improve the relations between the races. And the white laborer is taking the places vacated by the negro, so that the competition is both upward and downward. In these days of sharp competition between laborers of the same race, leading sometimes to bloodshed, racial differences are greatly emphasized. And this industrial competition must be reckoned with by the negro, who, being no longer protected by the Southern white man, must meet it in his own name and by his own innate power. And can the negro meet this competition successfully against a race which has exterminated the Celt and the Red man, which has excluded the Yellow man, and which has driven the Frenchman and the Spaniard off the North American Continent?

And not only must race antagonism and Industrial antagonism be met by the emancipated negro, but his being armed with the ballot has added *political antagonism* to his other difficulties; and this political antagonism is the more dangerous to him because it has weakened the feeling of the former slave-owner and his children toward him, and it is hardening the hearts of the non-slaveholding class against him more and more year by year. I believe that in the history of the whole world there never were as kindly relations existing between two races on the same soil as between the slave owner and the slave in the South before the Civil War, and nothing vindicates these kindly, and in many cases these tender relations so clearly, or falsifies the preconceived opinions of many Northern people on the subject so clearly as the confidence with which the white men of the South left their women and children to the protection of the negroes during the Civil War and the unexampled faithfulness with which the negroes discharged this trust; and we, who passed through these trying times can not forget this, their only redeeming feature, and we teach our children never to forget it. I have always loved the negro and I shall never cease to love him. My father and mother reared seven children in a slave woman's lap. She loved us better than her life. We loved her next to our parents, and I look with a sort of yearning pity on my grandchildren, because they can never know the love of a "black mammy." And I am sure that this kindly feeling between the out going generation of slave owners and of slaves is mutual. When the negro wants work, he comes to us for employment. When he is hungry, he comes to us still for food. When he is naked, he comes to us for clothing. When he is in trouble, he comes to us for counsel. When he wishes to buy a little piece of land so that he may own a home of his own, he comes to us to "stand for him." When his child is sick, he comes to us for medicine, and when it dies, he comes to us to help him buy its coffin. But when the election comes on, he does not come to us, but goes to our political opponent and his political master and gets his orders how to vote and a dollar or two perhaps in addition and often nothing but promises, accompanied by assurances that we want to put him back into slavery, and with this all connection between him and his political master ends till the next election.

Such persistent political hostility of employee against employer would hardly be tolerated by the property holders in any Northern state; it has become wearisome to the ex-slave holders, it is exasperating to their sons and grandsons, and it is intensifying the as yet suppressed race hostility of the non-slave holding class year by year.

So that friends of the negro must reckon with race antagonism, stimulated by industrial antagonism and inflamed by political antagonism.

Now when two races occupy the same soil, the voice of history is clear as to the three possible solutions of the race problem.

- I. The races must amalgamate:
- II. The stronger race must reduce the weaker race to slavery or at least to political subjection:
- III. The weaker race must cease to exist.

(1.) In this case amalgamation cannot be thought of. The man of Anglo-Saxon blood has never amalgamated with inferior races as the Latin races have done in Central and South America for instance. He may mix his blood individually with that of an inferior race; but any offspring belongs distinctly to the mother's race and not to the sire's. And any female of Anglo Saxon blood forfeits her race identity even by a legal marriage with a man of an inferior race. There is no middle ground socially between the white man and the black man in the South, and there can be none unless the flood of years shall deposit a middle ground from its current as the Nile or the Mississippi deposits its delta from its own waters.

(2.) Slavery is a thing of the past. It lasted in the South as long perhaps as it was beneficial to the weaker race, and as long as the stronger race could stand it and remain strong; and as I know the slave-owning class no one of them would undertake to bear the white man's burden of the African again for any consideration.

(3.) The history of other races in general and of the English speaking race in particular makes it necessary for the friends of the negro to reckon distinctly with the question of his gradual extinction, if he is to avoid the fate which the Celt and the Indian have already met at the hands of our race, and towards which our dealings with the Yellow man on our own soil and with the Brown man on his own soil seem to point ominously.

Various solutions of the Negro question have been suggested, no one of which seems likely to be as successful as its advocates expect, though each will have its effect in the ultimate result, whatever that may be.

Education in books has been suggested, and has been on trial since '65. Many Northern people, who have looked at the negro only through a telescope or through the smoked glass of their own preconceived opinions, differ materially from us, who have seen him eye to eye and under the microscope, and seem to think that he is an Anglo-Saxon in a black skin and that he needs only some book learning to relieve him of his African disabilities; and we of the South, whether wisely or unwisely, determined to give this method a fair trial. And so, according to the Report of Dr. Harris, Commissioner of Education, 1896-'97, Vol. 2, p. 2296, the South, of its own volition, has spent a hundred million dollars of tax money on the education of the negro since 1870, and according to the estimate of the Rev. Dr. A. D. Mayo, in his address at Normal, Ala., of May 29, '99, p. 7, lines 25, 26, 27, the North and the Nation have expended an equal amount on him for the same purpose since 1861. But despite this vast expenditure of money on his education in books, he is only an African man still; and the criminal statistics hereinafter mentioned are unfavorable to any expectation of his rapid intellectual or moral development.

Industrial Training has been suggested and it is being pressed in some quarters as the most hopeful thing for the negro. But industrial training, though doubtless beneficial in many individual cases, will hardly do as much for the race as some of its advocates expect, for two reasons: 1st., the negro lacks mechanical talent, as is shown by the fact that while he has been working with tools for more than a century in the United States, there seems to be no record of

any successful mechanical device of his invention; and 2nd, because industrial training will only sharpen the already existing industrial competition and race antagonism.

Colonization in Africa or elsewhere has been suggested as a possible solution of the negro problem, and it may have some results. But our experiment in Liberia, and the experiment of the English in Sierra Leone, with small numbers and under favorable conditions, have not been successful. The colonization of eight million people is a physical and a financial impossibility, even if they wished to be colonized, and the negro has not the slightest notion of being colonized. Moreover, only the strongest races have colonized in the past. And, "Qua in terris"? To what country can his colonies go except to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns!

The Distribution of the negroes among the Northern states has been suggested as a solution of the negro problem. But migrations have never occurred at the suggestion of philanthropists. The unhappy result of the migration of the southern negro farm laborers to Kansas some five years ago is discouraging to negro emigrants from the South to the North West; and the bloody issue of the migration of black miners from Alabama to Illinois has been already referred to. And those who dream the dream of the colonization or of the redistribution of the negro must reduce him to abject slavery before they can lead him about at their own sweet will.

Christianizing the negro is offered hopefully by some as a solution of the negro question. But to make this method successful it must regenerate the white man as well as the negro; and unless it prove more efficacious in the Anglo Saxon's dealing with the Black man than in his dealing with the Red man and with the Yellow man, his offering it to the Black man may not be very reassuring to him. And it is perfectly obvious to all who have learned the negro's characteristics by actual contact with him that in calculating the effect of Christianity on him the patent fact must not be lost sight of that in his mind religion and morals are severed more than in the Anglo-Saxon's.

With race antagonism, industrial antagonism and political antagonism to meet, it does not make the case of the negro more hopeful that his physical and mental and moral fibre have grown weaker since his freedom began. Insanity was almost unknown among the negroes in slavery. There must be insane asylums in every Southern State now for the colored insane and they are crowded with inmates. Small-pox and other contagious diseases were practically unknown among the negroes as slaves. They are very prevalent now. Drunkenness was practically unknown among the negroes as slaves. It is very common now. Venereal disease was almost unknown in slavery. The medical men say that it prevails among the negroes to a very alarming extent now. The sexual impurity of the negro is deplored by all who desire his uplifting, and most of all by such leaders of his own race as Booker Washington, Prof. DuBois, of Atlanta, and Prof. Eugene Harris of Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn. Prof. Harris' statement as to the Social and Physical condition of the Negro is given in the Report for 1896-'97 of the United States Government's Commissioner of Education, Vol. 2, pages 2310-11-12, where he says as follows: "The

constitutional diseases which are responsible for our unusual mortality are often traceable to sexual immoralities. According to Hoffman, more than 25 per cent. of the negro children born in Washington City are admittedly illegitimate. In one county in Mississippi there were during twelve months 300 marriage licenses taken out in the County Clerk's office for white people. In proportion to population there should have been 1200 or more for negroes. There were actually taken out for colored people *just three.*" This is the testimony, prepared by this leader of his race, for the Government's Commissioner of Education. As a simple matter of fact wrong doing of this sort discounts a negro woman very little, the most respectable negro man marrying a woman with an illegitimate child as readily as any other to all appearance. I know a man well who has had five negro men in his employment for some years, no one of whom was more than ten years of age at the surrender. They are all faithful, industrious, respected and self-respecting men and all of them could vote in Massachusetts, and will remain voters in North Carolina whether the suffrage amendment passes or not. Four of them have money in the bank. The wives of four of these men had illegitimate children at marriage, all by black fathers, and there are very few exceptions to these conditions, as is admitted by the testimony of the negro against himself. Nor does it better the case that the negro brought this immorality with him from Africa, where it is still one of the most distinctive features of his savage kindred. That this race characteristic lost hold on the negro in slavery is certain. That it has regained its former hold on him in freedom is equally certain. Add to the low marriage rate and the necessarily low birth rate of legitimates the high death rate which is patent everywhere, and it is not surprising that, while the negro population increased nearly 36 per cent. from 1870 to 1880, the increase from 1880 to 1890 was only 13 per cent. which is about one half the increase among the whites during the same period. Such conditions as have only to continue long enough and the negro question will settle itself. And the bettering of these conditions calls for the best and the most united thought and action of both races.

But the most disquieting thing to the friends of the negro is his attitude toward crime and his consequent rapid increase in criminality. When a white man commits a crime, other white men combine to arrest and punish him, and he loses character and cast. When a negro commits a crime, other negroes combine to prevent his arrest and punishment and he becomes a sort of hero and martyr in the eyes of his race.

Dr. W. H. Wilcox, a native of Massachusetts, a Professor in Cornell University, and at present detailed in Washington City as chief statistician of the Census, delivered a striking address on Criminality before the American Social Science Association, at Saratoga, Sept. 6, '99. Dr. George T. Winston, born in North Carolina, then President of the University of Texas, and now President of the N. C. Agricultural and Mechanical College, delivered a striking address in December, '97, before the National Prison Association, at its meeting in Austin, Texas, on the Prevention of Crime. The conclusions of these two distinguished gentlemen, differing so widely in birth, rearing and environment, are practically

the same; they are very instructive, and they bear very strongly on the negro's chances to survive, now that he has been brought into direct competition with the man of Anglo-Saxon blood. I quote Dr. Winston's conclusions chiefly, as he gives the actual percentage more fully than Dr. Wilcox does. (1) "The negro element is much the most criminal of our population." (2) "The negro is much more criminal as a free man than he was as a slave." (3) "The negro is increasing in criminality with fearful rapidity, being one third more criminal in 1890 than in 1880." (4) "The negroes who can read and write are more criminal than the illiterate, which is true of no other element of our population." (5) "The negro is nearly three times as criminal in the North East, where he has not been a slave for a hundred years, and three and a half times as criminal in the North West, where he has never been a slave, than in the South where he was a slave till 1865." (6) "The negro is three times as criminal as the native white and once and a half times as criminal as the foreign white, consisting in many cases of the scum of Europe." (7) "More than *seven tenths* of the negro criminals are under thirty years of age."

These conclusions are strikingly verified by Prof. J. R. Straton, in the *North American Review* for June, 1900. According to the Census of 1890, as quoted by Prof. Straton, the minimum illiteracy of the negro, 21 7-10 per cent., is found in New England and his maximum illiteracy, 65 7-10 per cent., is in the so called "black belt," South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana. And yet the negro is four and a half ($4\frac{1}{2}$) times more criminal in New England, hundred for hundred, than he is in the "black belt."

These facts, taken from the United States Census, show (1) that the educational method, as it has been applied thus far to the negro, lacks adjustment to his needs; and (2) that the North East, the North West and the Nation have not succeeded as well with the negro since '65 as the South did up to '65.

But the most fateful and fatal thing to be considered in the negro problem is the fact that the younger generation of negroes, already the most criminal class in our population, the United States Census says, have developed a mania—it can hardly be called any thing else—for assaulting white women. Those who live a thousand miles from the jungles of India may think that the reports that tigers come out from the jungles and devour hundreds of people every year are exaggerated. On the testimony of the tiger and of his kith and kin they may doubt or deny the facts and may express great sympathy for the downtrodden tigers when they are slain "*flagrante delicto*," or are tracked to their lairs and put to death. But those who live in the midst of the terrible facts feel a constant dread when the tiger is only in his lair, and they shudder when he is abroad with his appetite for human blood excited to such fury that he loses all sense of the consequences; and it need not be a matter of surprise if a very short shrift is allowed to the Indian tiger on the banks of the Ganges, or to the African tiger on the banks of the Altamaha. And it makes the assaults of the African tiger harder for the white man of the South to bear when even the women of his own race at the North express great sympathy for the death of the African tiger on the

banks of the Altamaha, but none for their Anglo-Saxon sister whom the African tiger has devoured, and when the negro editor of a paper in Wilmington, N. C., says that the Anglo-Saxon women are in collusion with the African tigers that devour them. And as long as the Anglo-Saxon is the Anglo-Saxon, this crime has only to touch *him* or *his* and his feeling is the same wherever God's sun shines on him.

[This view is strikingly verified by the recent murder of negroes in the race riots in New York City, and the more recent hangings and burnings of negroes by mobs in Colorado, in Illinois, President Lincoln's own state, in Indiana, President Harrison's own state, in Kansas, and in Ohio, President McKinley's own state, the lynchings in Urbana and Akron, Ohio, being attended with unusual violence.

Furthermore, in 1892 there were lynchings in twenty-seven (27) states of the Union, scattered from New York to California on the North, and from Virginia to Texas on the South. In 1897 there were lynchings in twenty-five (25) states, in all sections of the Union.]

And this assaulting of white women by negroes is a new crime. It was almost unheard of in slavery. The whole manhood of the South left their women in the hands of the negroes and went to the front during the Civil War with the feeling that the women were safe in the hands of the slaves. And they were safe, although on many plantations there were a hundred negro men and not a white man in a mile. No woman in the whole South was ever molested by a negro during the Civil War, nor for a number of years after the War. During the Spanish War I asked several old Confederates and ex-slave holders in several Southern States what the men of the South would do *now* if they were all called upon to repel an invasion which had advanced a hundred miles from the coast. Every one said it would be impossible to go. "But," I said, "it would be impossible not to obey the call of patriotism." "Then we would have to take all the adult negro males to the front with us and keep them there." "But," I said, "it would be impossible to take them all or to keep them all." "Then we would kill them all before we started," was the reply in every case. Such a contingency can not arise in any human probability; but this view of what it would necessitate if it should arise shows how the best people in the South and the negro's best friends feel about the African tiger who comes so often from his lair to devour our women. And in dealing with the black man this new factor must be reckoned with. One of the most influential Journals in New York * said nothing about the lynching of Sam Hose in Georgia for about three weeks; and then after an investigation at first hands, its conclusion was that the same thing would have occurred under similar circumstances in any state in the Union. And the Editor of one of the most influential religious weeklies in the Central West, † who had been very severe on the Southern people, went to Georgia in person to investigate; and, as reported by Rev. Dr. A. J. McKelway in the Presbyterian Standard, in answer to a question put to him by a clergyman of the Southern Methodist Church as to what he would do if a negro were to assault *his* wife or *his* daughter or *his* sister, he replied promptly, "I would kill him if I could," which statement he

* Harper's Weekly.

† The Interior, of Chicago.

modified several days later by saying, "I would try to kill him; but my neighbors ought not to let me do it."

It is entirely in accordance with the negro's fixed attitude towards crime that in all the deliverances of political and religious bodies of negroes, North and South, against lynching, I have never seen a word against the crime which has produced most of the lynching and which started it all. The same is true of deliverances of most organizations of white people at the North on the same subject. Great sympathy is expressed for the black man who pays the penalty for the crime; but very little sympathy is expressed, even by Northern women, for a white sister whom the African tiger has made his victim. All the best people of the South are entirely opposed to lynching. In practice it has failed as a remedy for the crime, and it has not only brutalized those engaged in it, but it has most seriously discounted the majesty of the law. It ought to be stopped. It must be stopped. But it will not stop till both races, North and South, unite in stopping the crime, which is confined almost exclusively to the negroes who were born after 1870.

When we consider that the freed negro must face the race antagonism of the man of Anglo Saxon blood, before which stronger races have fallen, that he must in addition face industrial and political antagonism intensified by his increasing lawlessness and criminality in all lines, but particularly in the special line referred to, which is straining the friendliness of his former friends towards him to the utmost and which is hardening the hearts of his racial and industrial opponents against him, when we consider all these things, it is well for the friends of the negro North and South to look these conditions squarely in the face if they would save him from the fate of the Celt, the Indian, the Frenchman and the Spaniard, as already enacted at the hands of our race.

And there is another factor which must be reckoned with. The negro has nothing to fear from the old slave owning class as yet, though the incoming generation have lost much of the kindly feeling which their fathers had for him. But the feeling of the non-slaveholding class against him, never good in the nature of things, is growing worse day by day, and a cloud, already "larger than a man's hand," has risen above the horizon, from which the lightning flashes angrily. To give a concrete illustration of this feeling, a negro assaulted a white girl near Asheville, N. C., about three years ago and was put to death by a mob, composed almost entirely of the *non-slaveholding class*, who turned out in great numbers, battered down the doors of the jail in order to get possession of the criminal, and overawed the local military company which was under arms to prevent violence.

I was not aware how strong the feeling of the non-slaveholding class against the negro is till I commanded them for four years in the Confederate Army, of which they formed the rank and file. This race feeling of the non-slaveholder and his children against the negro is held in abeyance as yet by the attitude of the slave-holding class, who have always controlled Southern sentiment. But the feeling is deep and strong, though latent and mostly quiescent as yet; it is

becoming less latent and less quiescent year by year, and it seems to be only a question of time when the attitude of the white laboring classes towards the negroes will be in the South what it has already become in the North.

It does not seem likely that any general outbreak or race war will occur. But it does seem more than probable, if the lawlessness of the negro continues to increase as it has been doing during the last two decades, that the non-slaveholding whites, under the stimulation of race, industrial and political antagonism, will take advantage of the fury caused by an assault of some white woman by a negro to settle their accumulated scores against the black man; and whenever and wherever such a thing occurs, the black man in that locality will join the Celt and the Indian.

In studying the Race problem in the South, these considerations must be reckoned with by those who would protect the negro from the direct competition with the man of Anglo-Saxon blood, which the negro's being freed has made inevitable.

But with some things in the negro problem which are ominous and with some things which are discouraging, there are at least two considerations which are helpful and hopeful.

(1) The lesser United States of the past has begun to be the Greater United States of the future; for the young Hercules of the West has aroused himself and has begun his labors, and these labors must extend through all the signs of the zodiac. In addition to the American born African, we have brought under our jurisdiction the colored races of our new West India Islands and of our new Pacific Islands. We have learned our lesson in the race question by our failure with the African man as a voter; and our mistake with the African man is correcting itself, and it will not be repeated with the other colored races for whom we have become responsible. The mistake made with the negro did not hurt the Southern white man. We are of perhaps the most unmixed Anglo-Saxon blood on the Continent. We have stood the strain of the illiterate voter of African blood, and have thriven on it politically. But will it ever do to give to the inhabitants of Spanish American countries, to Asiatics and to South Sea Islanders the opportunity to hold the balance of power in the Great Republic of the West?

(2) The Southern negro has this great advantage. He is here, and he is here to stay. We know him. We like him except as a politician and a criminal. We need him. The native white laborer and handicraftsman of the South is accustomed to him, and as yet works kindly by his side in all forms of activity. He is excluded from employment on race grounds nowhere in the South. As a peaceful immigrant he has never

been slain on the borders of any Southern State. And while the negro holds the field as a laborer, other laborers come in very slowly from the outside to compete with him, as the statistics show very clearly. In the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, as a whole the proportion of foreign born inhabitants to the native born is only one in one hundred and twenty-five, (1 in 125.) In the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas as a whole the proportion of foreign born inhabitants to the native born is about one in five (1 in 5.) It thus appears that practically no immigration to the South from the outside has occurred, which leaves the field clear to the negro if he can hold it.

We delivered the African man over to the nation in 1865 orderly, fairly industrious, without vices, without disease, without crime. In the hands of the nation he has become disorderly, idle, vicious, diseased; three times more criminal than the native white and one and a half times more criminal than the foreign white consisting largely of the scum of Europe; he was one third more criminal in 1890 than in 1880; and his maximum criminality and his minimum illiteracy concur in New England, according to the United States Census.

But if he goes out of politics entirely, so as to cease to antagonize his tried friends, and so as to cease to feel that some mysterious power in Washington will support him in idleness and protect him in crime; and if in this frame of mind he cultivates the friendship of those among whom he lives more kindly (except as a politician and as a criminal) than any where else in the United States, and with less competition than he would find any where else on the face of the earth, under these conditions he may become fit by degrees for full citizenship under the same educational and property qualifications required for white men in New England, and for brown men and yellow men in Hawaii. And when by intelligence and sobriety the African man has won without blood the boon which the Anglo-Saxon has taken centuries of moil and toil and blood to be prepared for, the right of suffrage should be made as inalienable to the black man as to the white man; for the white man cannot afford not to share his good things with the brother in black who lives on the same soil and is protected by the same flag. "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet and it tendeth to poverty."

But if the New Race Question is to be met successfully, it must be met by a united New North, New South, New East, and New West.

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